

STATINTL

April 3, 1953

Mr. Krock

Mr. Whitney

The following is a chronological account of a background talk, NOT for attribution to any official source, by Allen Dulles before an Overseas Writers' luncheon on April 3:

Mr. Dulles: Intelligence here is a relatively new toy, its use made more difficult by the fact it operates in a goldfish bowl. England has the tradition for it, and is able to operate in some secrecy. That is NOT possible in this country, so the US system is NOT patterned especially after the British model.

The nucleus of the CIA is the old OSS. It has both overt and covert functions. On the overt side is the coordination of intelligence throughout the government, with a regular Thursday morning meeting of the intelligence heads of all agencies - CIA, State, armed services, FBI, AEC, and JCS.

This advisory intelligence committee prepares papers on existing and developing situations - e.g., Stalin's death - but, for purposes of making policy, if agreement is NOT reached, the separate opinions (the CIA "paper," plus dissenting footnotes) are sent to the National Security Council.

NO ONE PREDICTED QUITE AS SUDDEN A SOVIET PEACE OFFENSIVE AS HAS ACTUALLY TAKEN PLACE.

Requests for intelligence estimates on particular situations can come from a variety of sources: NSC, Secretary of Defense or Secretary of State. Where there is disagreement, there is NO attempt to muddy up or gloss over such differences; the minority view also gets an airing.

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Also part of the overt task is the collection of intelligence from offices and agents in about 25 United States cities. The product is NOT overt, of course, because the agency doesn't advertise what its objectives or intentions or conclusions are.

On this matter of secrecy: Dulles is now trying to find a way for his employees to tell people where they work: so that his secretaries, for example, won't have to say they work at the Pentagon. He finally has put a "CIA" sign over his office door, since everybody in town knows where it is, and the address is in the telephone book.

Covert operations are in two fields: secret intelligence and secret operations. CIA has intelligence agents in all critical world areas - some operating quite overtly, however, such as in London, Paris and Frankfurt, where the agents are known at least to the governments involved. They operate under various covers: attached to the diplomatic or consular offices, or as businessmen.

THEY DO NOT USE NEWSPAPERMEN - with few exceptions, they being those papers which would NOT by any stretch of the imagination have foreign correspondents. The agency does NOT want suspicion cast on bona fide newspapermen, when the agency already gets so much from the press, with newspapers "the greatest purveyors of intelligence we have."

Any information available by normal means is out of bounds for the CIA; that is left to State and the service agencies.

OSS was the government's first development of a covert intelligence service; it will take time to organize to optimum efficiency, but in 10 years it ought to equal the British.

The CIA maintains close relations with the intelligence agencies of the free world. All realize that there is only one really central

intelligence target.

Secret operations, in a cold war, are a good deal more dangerous. The need grew out of the situation in 1948, when the Communists took over in Czechoslovakia, and came close to it in Italy. It was decided then that there should be somewhere in the government an agency for aiding the forces of democracy throughout the world in a covert manner.

Dulles opposes separation of secret intelligence and secret operations. Britain tried, but abandoned it. That will be his advice to the Jackson committee, which will make the decision.

The CIA is faced with the most difficult problems of intelligence that ever existed. The Iron Curtain really works. Dulles would give "a good many million dollars" to a Soviet newspaper comparable to those available to anyone in the United States. The Soviet uses NOT only those papers, but technical studies, SEC reports and other rich veins of information.

Yet the US is NOT without information about the Soviet Union. The FBIS reports of monitored radio broadcasts are an example. And there are "other methods." "But we are always dissatisfied with what we do get," and wish we had as many agents as the Soviet says we have.

The CIA reports to special committees of Armed Service and Appropriations committees to provide information on which to base appropriations.

A Richmond paper recently criticized the CIA for being a "free-wheeling outfit." Dulles called Sen. Byrd on the phone, read him the editorial, and indicated he thought the term was unjustified. Byrd replied: "Well, if you're NOT a free-wheeling outfit, why aren't you?"

Dulles said his agency "may have a little trouble with McCarthy, but NOT as much as my eminent brother is having." He added that the agency is dependent on the goodwill and support of Congress in carrying out its job.

Relations with the press are a little more difficult, because the agency is doing some sensitive jobs; it obviously can't make public the things that go well, but the press sometimes reports on matters that don't go so well. Dulles wants to avoid having to go to the press to ask that certain information NOT be printed. There is a discipline in this field in England, where it is taboo to talk publicly about the British secret service.

Ilya Ehrenberg on Allen Dulles: "If they let Dulles into heaven, they would find him mining the clouds, shooting the stars, and slaughtering the angels."

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The following summarizes his answers to questions:

The CIA has NOT yet prepared an estimate of the Soviet peace offensive, although the component parts are being lined up side by side with the acts of toughness - e.g., the air incidents. The latter, it's felt, don't mean an aggressive attitude, just a show of strictness and strength, for internal consumption in part, on the matter of borders.

Q. What goes on inside Russia?

A. The Stalin regime was a one-man regime; the present government is a committee regime. The committee type is usually weaker. But he sees NO fissures in the Soviet Union, partly because you don't detect the small cracks until the gaping holes are apparent. You don't have civil uprisings in a modern totalitarian state, as you did in France; you don't revolt in the face of tanks, artillery and tear gas. Revolutions are now at the top, with the army going to one side or the other.

Q. Information on Molotov's influence?

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A. We were surprised by the relative relegation of Molotov. Our

intelligence was divided between Molotov and Malenkov as the new leader, but slightly inclined toward Malenkov, who was ten years younger, among other things. It looks as though Molotov does NOT wield great political power, though he has influence in foreign affairs. THE BIG ISSUE IS WHETHER MALENKOV AND BERIA CAN GET ALONG, AND FOR HOW LONG.

Q. What about the Russian amnesty for prisoners?

A. It is quite common for a new regime to declare amnesty. They found the prisons pretty full, and didn't think it would do any harm; also probably thought it was a good move in psychological warfare. Dulles said he had "heard" - was NOT sure - that 2,000,000 (M) or 3,000,000 (M) prisoners were involved. He didn't think the move had any very subtle implications.

Q. Was Truman's secrecy order necessary?

A. Don't think they do much good. There is a tendency to publish in the technical fields a good deal of information for which the Soviets would give their eye teeth if we weren't already giving it to them free.

Q. Were Oatis or Vogeler, or any of the correspondents now traveling in Russia, agents?

A. NO.

Q. What are potentialities of split between Moscow and Peiping?

A. I don't see any.

Q. What are you doing to promote it?

A. That's my brother's department, and the White House. CIA merely carries out covertly the policies of the Government.

Q. What about the Burma dispute?

A. The bodies found there were NOT American bodies; think they were German deserters from French Foreign Legion fighting in Indo-China. The US has been trying for some time to get the Chinese troops out of Burma.

Q. Is Russian intelligence improving? Is it getting more sophisticated?

A. On technical side, it's very good. Also, Molotov and Vishinsky are "very smart fellows."

Q. Is the Voice of America any good to you, and what should be done with it?

A. Voice has done some pretty good work; NOT perfect, of course. But in many areas of the world, effective. Perhaps in some places, its output shouldn't use the US label too much. BBC is a good example of effective broadcasting.

Q. In both secret intelligence and secret operations, are we getting meaty and productive reports from Belgrade?

A. Our working relations with Yugoslavia are satisfactory. We have to move slowly in that area. They know we dislike and don't trust any Communist state, but there has been a "very substantial development of cooperation in last year and a half."

Q. Soviet progress in atomic energy?

A. It's a matter of public knowledge (despite inexplicable Truman statement) that the Soviets have tested three A-bombs. But NO tests in over a year and a half. WE BELIEVE THE SOVIETS ARE CONTINUING TO MAKE ATOMIC BOMBS, SINCE THEY HAVE THE SECRET, AND WE WOULD BE NEGLIGENT NOT TO ASSUME THAT THEY HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL STOCKPILE OF BOMBS.

Q. They couldn't test one without our knowledge?

A. NOT likely.

Q. What about the "germ warfare" confessions, and the technique of "brain washing?"

A. The Russians have undoubtedly discovered effective techniques

have been seen showing three US airmen blandly telling about their indoctrination in germ warfare methods, who taught them, how high they flew to drop germ containers, etc. NOT a word of truth in it. This is accomplished NOT by torture, and probably NOT by drugs; just forced sleeplessness, special lights, endless interrogation. It's possible they'll work this on a hundred or so prisoners in Korea, who will then say they don't want to return to the US.

OFF THE RECORD - The US has asked a panel of eminent brain experts, psychiatrists, etc., to scrutinize all the evidence we have, and to get their views on the technique.

END OFF THE RECORD

Dulles also cited interview with John Hayes, a Presbyterian Missionary, in US News and World Report. Hayes was in Communist China for three years, was interrogated for 75 days, broke after 45 or 50, with his brain washed.

Q. Is CIA implementing policy of liberation?

A. Do the best we can to keep alive in the satellites the hope of eventual freedom and liberation; NOT doing anything to promote uprising or action of that nature. Just try to keep in their minds the consciousness of a better world.

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/S/ WALTER WAGGONER